

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-16 EUR-25 NEA-14 RSC-01

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COME-00 EB-11 FRB-02 INT-08 LAB-06 AID-20 CIEP-02

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R 270820Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3037

INFO USUN NEW YORK 765

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 7905

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,XA,SB,XR,YO,RO,MT,UN,ID

SUBJECT: U.S. AND NON-ALIGNED WORLD

REF : STATE 099106

1. SUMMARY: NEW COHESION OF NON-ALIGNED WORLD RESULTS NOT SO MUCH FROM PRESSURE CERTAIN ACTIVIST NATIONS, AS IT DOES FROM FACT THESE NATIONS APPEAL TO CERTAIN COMMON EMOTIONS IN NEWLY INDEPENDENT WORLD. WE DO NOT--AND IT IS OUR MODERATE FRIENDS WHO SUFFER MOST FROM OUR FAILURE. THERE IS MUCH WE DO IN REALITY, THAT FITS ASPIRATIONS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS, BUT WE DO NOT MAKE EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. OUR POLITICAL INITIATIVES WITH COMMUNIST WORLD, IN MIDDLE EAST AND IN FOOD AND FERTILIZER PROGRAMS GIVE US BASIS FOR NEW THRUST WITH NON-ALIGNED. NEW DEVELOPMENTS RE PORTUGAL PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY RETHINK OUR TRADITIONAL POSTURE ON HIGHLY EMOTIONAL COLONIAL ISSUE. WE BELIEVE NEITHER EFFORTS
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TO DIVIDE NOR THREATS TO USE AID AS PRESSURE WOULD BE AS EFFECTIVE AS CONCERTED EFFORT PRESENT U.S. POLICIES IN MORE RESPONSIVE FORMAT BOTH TO NON-ALIGNED LEADERS AND MODERATES. END SUMMARY

2. THESE COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED BASED ON MY EXPERIENCE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, BRIEF PERIODS AT UN, AND FOUR-MONTHS EXPOSURE TO INDONESIA. (SEPTEL WILL REPORT MY APPROACHES TO GOI OFFICIALS ON STEAMROLLER TACTICS.) MEMBERS OF INDONESIAN COUNTRY HAVE CONTRIBUTED AND ADVISED, BUT REPLY REPRESENTS ESSENTIALLY MORE PERSONAL VIEW. BEFORE WE DECIDE WHETHER WE CAN DIVIDE, PRESSURE, OR MANIPULATE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND ITS NATURE. I DO NOT BELIEVE WE HAVE FULLY UNDERSTOOD PROBLEMS OR DEPTH OF EMOTIONS WHICH LIE BEHIND OUR RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED.

3. I AM WELL AWARE OF DOMESTIC AND CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEMS WE FACE IN DEALING WITH NON-ALIGNED: OUR CONCERN OVER PRICES WE MUST PAY FOR ENERGY, COMMODITIES, AND RESOURCES; OUR FRUSTRATION BY APPARENT LACK OF LOGIC, UNREALITY AND IMPRACTICALITY OF NON-ALIGNED RHETORIC; OUR DESPAIR AT FREQUENT AND UNHERALDED CHANGES IN RULES RELATING TO TRADE AND INVESTMENT ABROAD. WE ARE BAFFLED AND TROUBLED BY "EXTREMIST" RHETORIC. RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE IMPORTANT. WE DO NOT LIKE SUDDEN MINORITY POSITION IN UN WHICH WE DOMINATED FOR SO LONG. AT TIME WHEN BOTH FOREIGN AID AND SUPPORT FOR UN INCREASINGLY UNPOPULAR IN CONGRESS, FURTHER RADICALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL FORA EXACERBATES CONGRESSIONAL DISENCHANTMENT.

4. POLICIES AND THRUSTS WE FACE IN UNITED NATIONS ARE BASICALLY RESULT OF FORCEFUL PERSUASION AND LEADERSHIP BY RELATIVELY SMALL GROUP OF NATIONS. WHAT THESE NATIONS ESPOUSE ON GLOBAL BASIS, HOWEVER, STRIKES RESPONSIVE CHORD IN EVERY RECENTLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRY AND NO MEMBER OF NON-ALIGNED WORLD CAN EFFECTIVELY SWIM AGAINST TIDE. NON-ALIGNED ARE WELL AWARE WE HAVE OFFICIALLY IGNORED THEIR MOVEMENT. UNTIL RECENTLY MOST LDCS HAVE GIVEN LIP SERVICE TO "NON-ALIGNED" POLICIES BUT IN ACTUALITY
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HAVE PURSUED THEIR OWN AND OFTEN DIFFERENT WAYS. WHAT IS BEGINNING TO HAPPEN AND TO POSE GREATER THREAT TO US IS THAT LARGER GROUP OF NATIONS FEEL FULLY BOUND BY NON-ALIGNED DECISIONS IN THEIR OWN ACTIONS.

5. ROOT CAUSES OF WHAT HAPPENED IN NEW YORK LIE IN STRONG EMOTIONAL FEELINGS OF ARTICULATE PEOPLE AND MANY LEADERS IN NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. HOWEVER THESE LEADERS MAY MASK OR DISGUISE THEIR FEELINGS IN NORMAL CONTACTS WITH FOREIGNERS, MANY POSSESS A DEEP SENSE OF WOUNDED PRIDE, BORDERING AT TIMES ON VINCITIVENESS, FROM PAST EXPERIENCES. THEY FACE THE INCREASING FRUSTRATION OF OFTEN MASSIVE UNRESOLVED CONOMIC PROBLEMS

THREATENING THEIR OWN POLITICAL FUTURE. THESE FRUSTRATIONS COMPOUNDED BY RISING PRICES OF MANUFACTURED GOODS AND RAW MATERIALS, SHORTAGES, AND EFFECTS OF WORLDWIDE CURRENCY CRISIS. DEVELOPED NATIONS, CORPORATIONS SEEM EASY AND POPULAR SCAPEGOATS FOR SUCH FRUSTRATION. NON-ALIGNED FEEL THEY HAVE BEEN EXPLOITED AND EXPLOITATION IS CONTINUING. REALITY AND LOGIC TAKE SECOND PLACE TO STRONG EMOTIONAL FEELING THAT THINGS WOULD BE BETTER IF THEY WERE LESS AT MERCY OF DEVELOPED NATIONS. FEELING GAINS STRENGTH AS DEVELOPING NATIONS BEGIN FEELING THEIR OWN POWER THROUGH MANIPULATION OF RESOURCES.

6. WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT WE ARE PRINCIPAL TARGET FOR MOST OF THESE FRUSTRATIONS. (WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS SUCH AS, FOR MOMENT, JAPANESE IN INDONESIA.) AT HEART OF NON-ALIGNED ATTITUDE TOWARD US IS DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT IN UNITED STATES AND, BEYOND THAT, FEELING THAT WE ARE PRINCIPAL OPPONENT THEIR OBJECTIVES. THEY FIRMLY BELIEVE WE COULD DO MORE FOR THEM IF WE CHOSE; FACT WE DO NOT MEANS WE ARE AGAINST THEM. EACH ITT/CHILE CASE, WHATEVER FACTS, GIVES FURTHER SUPPORT TO IMAGE OF OUR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO LEGITIMATE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. AS EUROPEAN NATIONS, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, ACCEDE INCREASINGLY TO NON-ALIGNED PRESSURES, OUR ISOLATION BECOMES MORE SEVERE.

7. WE ARE, IN VIEWS OF MANY, ON WRONG SIDE OF COLONIAL AND RACIAL ISSUES, MATTERS OF EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IN CONFIDENTIAL

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MANY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. OUR ELABORATE EXPLANATIONS AND LEGAL RESERVATIONS ON KEY ISSUES JUST DO NOT GO OVER. WHAT COUNTS IS THE VOTE. WITH OUR OWN HISTORY AND MANY OF OUR DECLARATIONS, THEY HAVE EXPECTED MORE FROM US. WHATEVER MAY BE LOGIC OF OUR POSITION OR SINCERITY OF OUR RHETORICAL EFFORTS TO PUT IT IN BEST LIGHT, WE HAVE SEEMED TO THEM TO BE FOOT DRAGGERS ON EACH MAJOR COLONIAL ISSUE: ALGERIA, PORTUGUESE AFRICA, RHODESIA. OUR POSITIONS ON SUCH ISSUES AS APARTHEID AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NEITHER FULLY UNDERSTOOD NOR ACCEPTED. MANY SEE VIETNAM AS ESSENTIALLY CONTINUATION COLONIAL WAR. MANY HAVE SAID TO ME, "HOW CAN YOU EXPECT OUR SUPPORT WHEN YOU OPPOSE US ON EVERY ISSUE OF IMPORTANCE TO US." OUR CASE NOT HELPED BY FACT THAT DECOLONIZATION PROCESS PROVING TO BE INESCAPABLE; NOW, EVEN IN PORTUGAL.

8. SIMILARLY, ON ECONOMIC ISSUES SUCH AS COMMODITY AGREEMENTS, NATIONALIZATION, ENERGY, WE HAVE, WHETHER IT IS JUST OR NOT, GIVEN IMPRESSION OF OPPOSITION TO ASPIRATIONS OF NON-ALIGNED. WE HAVE TOO OFTEN TERMED THESE ASPIRATIONS UNREALISTIC OR RADICAL. THERE IS NO CONFIDENCE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT IN ABSENCE COMMODITY AGREE-

MENTS, WE WOULD REALLY LOOK AFTER THEIR INTERESTS IN
FREE MARKET.

9. IT IS OUR FRIENDS IN NON-ALIGNED WORLD WHO HAVE
SUFFERED MOST FROM OUR APPARENT POSTURE. TIED TO US BY
STRATEGIC OR OTHER INTERESTS, THEY HAVE BEEN FORCED TO
TRY TO EXPLAIN THAT RELATIONSHIP AGAINST BACKGROUND OF
WHAT OTHERS CONSIDER UNSYMPATHETIC U.S. VIEW. MOST
BITTER ATTACK ON OUR POLICIES I HEARD IN FOUR YEARS OF
DEALING WITH AFRICA WAS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION FROM
FORMER ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINISTER. PRIME EXAMPLE OF
WEAKNESS OF MODERATES IS FACT THAT, AS FAR AS I KNOW,

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PA-04 AID-20 CIEP-02 SS-20 STR-08 TAR-02 TRSE-00

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R 270820Z JUN 74
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3038
INFO USUN 766

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 7905

REF: STATE 099106

NOT A SINGLE POOR DEVELOPING COUNTRY HAS CRITICIZED
ARAB OIL PRODUCERS IN ANY INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR PRICE
HIKES. APPARENT SOLIDARITY WITH ALL DEVELOPING NATIONS
IS MORE IMPORTANT. LOOK AT INCREASING ASSOCIATION WITH
NON-ALIGNED OF MOBUTU AND HOUPHOUET-BIGNY; NEITHER FELT
HE COULD SWIM LONG AGAINST TIDE.

10. MANY NOW FEEL WE HAVE BECOME INTERESTED IN PROBLEMS
OF DEVELOPING NATIONS ONLY AS THEY HAVE APPLIED PRESSURE
ON US. THE WEAK NATIONS NOW ARE FEELING STRONGER; THEY
HAVE PRESSURE POINTS WHICH CAN BE USED. THEY ARE NOT
ABOUT TO ABANDON THEM. HOWEVER WE MAY FEEL ABOUT OIL

EMBARGO, DEVELOPING NATIONS BELIEVE IT WORKED.

11. UN VICTORIES ARE SEEN BY NON-ALIGNED AS ENDS IN THEMSELVES. RESOLUTIONS IN THEIR PURE FORM BECOME SYMBOLS OF NON-ALIGNED STRENGTH; TO WATER THEM DOWN IS TO LOSE.
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PROVISIONS AND ISSUES ARE LESS IMPORTANT THAN SYMBOLS AND "VICTORY." FOR MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, UN IS WAY OF GAINING SATISFACTION AT EXPENSE MAJOR NATIONS THEY CANNOT ACHIEVE IN ANY OTHER WAY.

12. FROM STANDPOINT UNITED STATES, TRAGEDY IS THAT OUR POSTURE TOWARD DEVELOPING WORLD IS MUCH MORE POSITIVE THAN IT OFTEN APPEARS. WE HAVE GIVEN SUBSTANTIAL AID. WE HAVE WORKED QUIETLY AND EFFECTIVELY ON MANY COLONIAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. OUR COMPANIES HAVE BEEN IN FOREFRONT IN JOINT VENTURES, CONTRACT OPERATIONS, AND TRAINING OTHER PEOPLES TO DO THEIR JOB. (WHY DOES ALGERIA, THE HIGH PRIEST OF NON-ALIGNMENT, PREFER TO WORK WITH AMERICAN COMPANIES?) WE HAVE FACED ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE DILEMMA IN THAT WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE, BECAUSE OF OUR COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS, TO EMPHASIZE WHAT WE ARE DOING BECAUSE OF SENSITIVITIES OF ALLIES, CONGRESS,, OR SECTIONS OF PUBLIC.

13. IN DEALING WITH NON-ALIGNED PHENOMENA, WE HAVE THESE OPTIONS:

A. WE CAN SEEK TO DIVIDE MODERATES FROM ACTIVIST LEADERS. I HAVE LITTLE CONFIDENCE THIS CAN SUCCEED. IT WILL EMBARRASS WEAK AND ACCENTUATE CONFRONTATION.

B. WE CAN USE AID AS AN INSTRUMENT OF REWARDING THOSE WHO SEE THINGS OUR WAY. THIS IS TEMPTING, BUT DANGEROUS PATH AND DOES NOT WORK. AID RECIPIENTS WILL DO WHAT THE DONOR WANTS IN OTHER MATTERS ONLY SO LONG AS THE RECIPIENT SEES ITS OWN BEST INTERESTS SERVED BY SO DOING.
IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND PERSUASIVE EXAMPLE OF DIRECT EFFECTIVE USE OF AID FOR POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC OBJECTIVE WHERE THE RECIPIENT DID NOT SEE HIS OWN BEST INTEREST SERVED BY ACCEDING TO OUR REQUEST. RISK OF BACKFIRE IS GREAT.

C. WE CAN SEEK MORE EFFECTIVE DIALOGUE WITH NON-ALIGNED LEADERS: ALGERIA, TANZANIA, YUGOSAVIA, INDIA.
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GAP BETWEEN US ON KEY ISSUES MAY BE TOO GREAT TO MAKE THIS BASIS FOR OUR EFFORT.

D. WE CAN SEEK TO PERSUADE MODERATE NATIONS OF LOGIC OUR APPROACH, WITHOUT IMPLICATION OF DIVIDING. THIS SUFFERS FROM THEIR OWN WEAKNESS.

E. WE CAN TAKE ATTITUDE THAT FURTHER NON-ALIGNED SOLIDARITY WILL FORCE US TO LEAVE UN. THIS MAY SHOCK SOME; I FEAR IT WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER CONFRONTATION AND DEFIANCE.

14. I SUGGEST THAT RECENT INITIATIVES ON OUR PART AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE CREATED AUSPICIOUS MOMENT FOR RECONSIDERATION OUR BASIC APPROACH TOWARD NON-ALIGNED AND SUGGEST TIME HAS COME FOR ADOPTING COMBINATION OF OPTIONS C AND D WITH HINT OF E. WHAT WE NEED IS APPROACH WHICH TAKES NOTE OF FACT OF COHESION AND PSYCHOLOGY OF NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS, ACKNOWLEDGES THEIR CONCERNS, AND PERSUADES THEM THAT DIALOGUE WITH UNITED STATES IS BEST MEANS ACHIEVING THEIR ASPIRATIONS. WE NEED APPROACH WHICH MODERATE FRIENDS CAN SUPPORT AS BEING CONSISTENT WITH NON-ALIGNED PRINCIPLES. WORDS IN WHICH WE PACKAGE OUR APPROACH BECOME VERY IMPORTANT. APPROACHES SUGGESTED PARA 4 OF REFTEL BASED TOO STRONGLY ON STATED ASSUMPTION THAT INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL INTERESTS OF NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS AND STATED GOALS OF NON-ALIGNED GROUP INCOMPATIBLE. THIS, IN MY VIEW, CAN ONLY LEAD TO FURTHER POLARIZATION WITH WEAK CAUGHT IN MIDDLE.

15. INITIATIVES BY PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY TOWARD CHINA, DETENTE, VIETNAM, AND MIDDLE EAST HAVE BEEN WELL RECEIVED IN DEVELOPING WORLD. THERE ARE NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF IMAGINATIVE ROLES OUR CORPORATIONS PLAYING IN HELPING DEVELOP INDIGENOUS SKILLS, EQUITY, AND INITIATIVE. PORTUGUESE SITUATION PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO BE LESS RESERVED ON COLONIAL ISSUE IN UN AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. FOOD AND FERTILIZER INITIATIVES STRIKE RESPONSIVE CHORD.

16. I RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST CONSIDERATION OF NEW APPROACH
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TO SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED NATIONS, BOTH THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, IN UN, AND PUBLICLY WITH CLEAR ENDORSEMENT OF PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY. APPROACH WOULD INCLUDE MESSAGES TO NON-ALIGNED AND G-77 MEETINGS AND RECOGNITION EXISTENCE AND VALIDITY THESE GROUPINGS IN OUR PUBLIC UTTERANCES. IT WOULD BE APPROACH TO ALL MEMBERS TO MINIMIZE CHARGE OF DIVIDING. WE WOULD SAY, IN ESSENCE:

A.TA U.S. CLEARLY RECOGNIZES ASPIRATIONS OF DIGNITY,

EQUITY, AND PROGRESS WHICH HAVE BROUGHT TOGETHER NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS. WE RECOGNIZE THAT DAY OF EXPLOITATION BY ONE GROUP OF ANOTHER IS OVER. WE RECOGNIZE RIGHTFUL DESIRE OF LESSER DEVELOPED FOR GREATER AND MORE CERTAIN SHARE OF PROCEEDS FROM THEIR RESOURCES.

B. U.S. CONSISTENTLY IN FOREFRONT OF EFFORT TO EQUALIZE RESOURCES AND OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING THROUGH AID, CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND EFKPRTS GIVE VOICE TO DEVELOPING NATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY POLICY. U.S. CORPORATIONS HAVE UNMATCHED RECORD FOR PARTICIPATION AND TRAINING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

C. U.S. RECOGNIZES MOST CRITICAL PROBLEMS FACING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TODAY AND IS TAKING INITIATIVES IN FOOD, FERTILIZER, AND OTHER AREAS TO AWAKEN INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.

D. U.S. RECOGNIZES DESIRE OF NON-ALIGNED FOR END TO MAJOR POWER CONFRONTATION. NO NATION HAS WORKED HARDER TOWARD THAT GOAL.

E. U.S. CLEARLY RECOGNIZES DAY OF COLONIALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IS PAST AND WILL ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS OF REMAINING COLONIAL PROBLEMS.

F. U.S. FACES CRISIS IN ITS RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED. GROWING ATTITUDE OF CONFRONTATION ON PART OF NON-ALIGNED THREATENS UNDERMINE KEY SUPPORT FOR PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF IMPORTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND CONFIDENTIAL

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UN. U.S. MORE THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY ABLE AND WILLING ASSIST IN REALIZATION OF NON-ALIGNED GOALS, BUT CAN ONLY DO SO IF, IN UN AND ELSEWHERE, GENUINE DIALOGUE REPLACES POLARIZATION.

17. TO BE EFFECTIVE IN ANY APPROACH, WE MUST HAVE WELL-CONCEIVED STRATEGY AND MEANINGFUL INSTRUCTIONS FOR RAQPVROACHES WELL BEFORE ANY NEW UN SESSION. WE MUST MOVE AWAY FROM POSTURE WE HAVE ADOPTED IN PAST OF "WAIT AND SEE WHAT OTHERS COME UP WITH," TO ONE WHICH TAKES INITIATIVE WELL BEFORE KEY FIGURES LEAVE CAPITALS FOR NEW YORK. THIS MEANS, IN MANY PLACES, AT LATEST, BY AUGUST 1 FOR SEPTEMBER UN SESSION.
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